2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 F'N17 Ngonde F'N17
Nyakyusa
Selya, Ne Ngonde

little older than herself, rather than at the formal admonition by her mothers, though a little is given then also.[1] She is especially warned to depilate herself regularly. 'If she is hairy her husband will complain to the mothers and they will beat her.' The maids listen to the instruction along with the bride, and since every girl keeps several of her immediate seniors company before she grows up herself, no young women can be left in doubt as to her duties as a wife.

At the shaving of the sprouting hair the 'bull of puberty' (*ngombolo jobusungu*) should be killed if the bride is found, on examination by her mothers and those of the groom, to be a virgin, or if the husband has told the women that he himself has deflowered her. Mwandi's complaint at the ceremony just described was that the groom's party had not brought the bull though his daughter was a virgin, and he insisted that the bride could not go to her husband until it had been provided.

At another puberty ritual which we attended, the bull was duly brought and, after examining the girl, the mothers announced her virginity with the cry of triumph (*ololelo*), and shouted: 'It is ours, it is ours.' They rushed through the courtyard dancing and applauding. Before the examination the bull had been tied up near the mothers, and immediately the joyful announcement was made it was killed. The meat of this bull is divided between the bride's mothers, her father's kinsmen with whom he exchanges cattle, and his immediate neighbours. The ritual portion, the *ijimmagha*, cut from the top of the right foreleg, is taken by her father to his ritual grove of bananas and there he prays, saying: 'You, so-and-so (naming his father), since I have eaten the food of others (non-relatives) may she flourish at her husband's.' Another informant's version of the prayer was: 'I am eating the bull for my daughter, may she bear children!' A third said: 'Here is the meat! I have eaten the food of others, come out a little, may she bear a child at her husband's!'

If the bride is not a virgin the bull is not killed. It must be returned. Informants repeatedly implied, in talking of the ritual, that everyone knew beforehand whether the bride was virgin or not. 'If she is not a virgin we only do a little ritual, there is but one

[1] Our informants maintained that clay images were not used as a medium of instruction, as among the Bemba, though Nyakyusa girls would stylized dolls out of clay almost identical with one shown for the Kisi in F. Fülleborn, *Deutsch Ost-Afrika*, Band IX, Atlas, plate no. 28, 30, 31, 32.

J. Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

287 sometimes long coats. They look well for a few weeks and then take on a dirty depressing appearance, and it is safe to say that with the reduction in price of Home goods bark-cloth will go out of favour.

281 [285] Leather work has not developed to any great extent. Women use undressed skins for carrying babies; and men, in remote districts, use them as aprons. In Poloto skins are sewn together to form garments, and in the Kings Mountains the skins worn by the women are pleasingly decorated with shells, while the leg skins are skilfully cut into strips and used as ties, by which to bind the skin on the back. They are seldom worn in front, and the Kings women go in furs as to their backs, while a small bunch of grass alone clothes the front. Shields, wide and narrow; blacksmith's bellows of undressed goat skin; tobacco and snuff pouches, waist belts, caps, sandals; and long strips of hide for binding purposes, such as the haft of a spear, are all or nearly all the uses that are made of leather, if indeed the term leather should be used at all, as most of the articles named are made from unprepared skins.

301 [291] Beads are strung into pleasing patterns by using various colours, and are worn in strings or broad bands, on neck, forehead, arms, ankles, shoulders. Children often go clad only in a tiny apron of beadwork, and girls in the Kinga Mountains wear similar aprons until marriage.

532 One European house in my neighbourhood is decorated with a frieze of crude representations of men on foot or on horseback, motor-cars, cycles, birds,

J: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

animals, snakes, in astonishing variety, done in black or red on white ground by two native artists from Rungwe. Whether the ideas were supplied to them by the white man who owned the house, I cannot tell, but the execution is entirely native, and, although the total effect is weird rather than pleasing, it indicates possibilities which might be worth developing.

If housebuilding be included in arts and crafts, then the Konde people take a high place. There are at present some remarkably good houses at Karongs, of four, five, or six apartments, built on the European model, with properly made doors and windows; and there is, not far from Tukuyu, a house at present being built, with two storeys, T-shaped, the only materials used being the ordinary wood and clay. But the common Konde hut is a very high-class thing compared with the rude erections of tribes which have surpassed the Konde in other respects. Whether it be the older round type, or the newer square, there is a neatness and cleanliness in the Konde homestead that is sadly lacking in tribes that are wealthier, and more ambitious, but whose ambitions are only slowly reaching out towards improved dwellings.

9:Wilson E-S (1934-1955) 1959
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and Tesi who established conquest states to the north-west.[1] [773]

Whatever the origin and adventures of the heroes they were important in Nyakyusa and Ngonde history because their graves became centres of religious ritual which linked together groups that were otherwise largely independent. The myths about them are the charter for chiefdomship. They are depicted as benefactors who brought to uncivilized men not only the institution of chiefdomship itself, but fire, cattle, iron, seed, and a creative power resident in their own bodies and those of their anointed heirs. But the myths also justify the power of commoners who first occupied the country and who have witchcraft in their bellies:

The commoners whom Lwembe found here were extraordinary. They were cultivators, but they had not yet got fire, they ate their food raw. It was we chiefs, it was Lwembe, who brought fire and cattle—he came and found the original occupants without cattle; hence the commoners say, 'We are the earth'. Commoners are different from us physically, they are black; they are awe-inspiring, they are witches. Before you Europeans came the chiefs like Mwaipopo (116) were not awe-inspiring, they feared the commoners very much; the commoners hammered the chief with their fists—yes, by daylight. And if the chief cut a man's heiress that man took the chief's. If the commoners were angry with Mwaipopo they fetched Mwangomo (124 whose chiefdom adjoins Mwaipopo's) at night by their witchcraft; he came in the night with his people and seized the cattle, both those of the chief, Mwaipopo, and those of the commoners. The next day the commoners said: 'It is we, we are angry. Why do you not look after us? Why do you not kill cattle for us?' Then Mwaipopo would kill two head of cattle and all the men in the country ate. . . . Mwaipopo and his equals were not awe-inspiring long ago, it is you Europeans who have created chiefdomship and awe.

[1] cf. H. H. Curson and R. W. Thornton, 'A Contribution to the Study of African Native Cattle', *Onderstepoort Journal of Veterinary Science and Animal Industry*, vol. 2 October 1936 (Government Printer, Pretoria). An analysis of the distribution and migration of breeds in Africa.

H. B. Thompson and R. Scott, *Uganda* (1935), pp. 135 ff.

Fülleborn, *op. cit.*, pl. 68/69.

M. Merker, *Die Masai*, pp. 137 ff., 1904, Berlin.

H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1904, pp. 86, 103 (early photographs of Nyoro cattle).

The short-horn type predominates among the Nyakyusa, but some animals suggest an intermixture with Sanga cattle. The hump is regarded as a great delicacy and is exaggerated in the clay cattle which boys model. Cf. Fülleborn, *op. cit.*, pl. 72. The similarity between the ritual and symbolism of the Nyakyusa and those of the Ganda as described by Roscoe is marked. J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, 1911.

12: Stiegand E-5 (1955) 1961 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

342 ordinary or to a row some distance from the other houses of the village. They were never roughcast with mud).

Nearly all the dukgas had a pan-supported verandah. I measured up and drew sketches of two houses of this type, one belonging to the above-mentioned woman called Malia, whose husband lived near door to an iyanga. She was a Christian—actually a church-elder. On the outside of her bamboo-framed, mud-roughcast wall, she had drawn a church in yellow, red, and black colours, and below she had written the word kanisa (church). Apart from a house near Lake Nyasa, of which I took a photograph and which had very rudimentic and drastic drawings on its outside wall (crocodiles, a man and his bicycle, a man with his firearm), it is the only instance in which I saw any kind of coloured decoration on a house. Besides impressed patterns in clay on hearth and floor, I saw no decorations on the inside or outside of houses, except fine patterns in the outside wickerwork of the wall.

342 532

342 In this house, approximately 8 metres long, there were two vertical supporting posts, reaching to the very ridge of the roof, where presumably they were joined to the ridge beam. However, the latter could not be seen.

344 The hearth was peculiar in that it consisted of two pairs of hearthstones near a clay base that surrounded a supporting post and a shorter post. Thus two hearths were available, at the same time serving as fire-proofing to the posts. Though Malia was a single woman, the house had two hearths. You might think that she had seen a stove and had found that two cooking places would be useful. I saw this arrangement in one more place, in the house of a widow, who—by the way—was also a Christian.

343 A space nearly half the size of the house was partitioned off, the half-wall having a doorway. This room was for storage only, clothes etc.; it had a barred window. Besides the hearths, the living-room had bed's mats, stools, baskets, Malia's bed (2 m by 1 m), table, wooden shelves, boxes, and a chest. These last-mentioned objects she had had no difficulty in obtaining from the neighbouring joiner's workshop belonging to the mission.

[363] [397]

342 The other dukgas in Boga quite a different district, that of Rutenganio. It was a very long house, as often seen in this locality, 26 metres long. I was told that

The type of house called dukga, or kanisa.